

CHANGE →

VOL. I, No. 9

YEAR END RESUME

Early in 1965, Forces of Change Discussion groups began studying the major forces shaping our world: cybernation, the nuclear threat, the human rights revolutions here and abroad. It seems appropriate now to review, however sketchily, developments that have occurred in these fields. Every group, no doubt, will differ on evaluations; and we realize that many important items are omitted. Nonetheless, we present for your further discussion some of the more urgent issues of the year:

WAR AND PEACE

We are approaching the end of another year in which the chief miracle is that we're still here. Wars and stockpiling continue, but we have not yet reached that point of mathematical precision at which, according to some scientists, the inevitable occurs and the planet is left useless.

In the hope of avoiding that fate, 1965 was designated International Cooperation Year; and the White House Conference is expected to bring forth some continuing programs to expand cooperation. On the negative side, Indonesia became the first state to withdraw from the United Nations. The vote against seating Communist China in the United Nations was tied at 47 to 47, with 20 countries abstaining. The Chinese, in turn, indicate that they spurn the UN as a tool of the West, and may attempt to build a rival organization. The four other nuclear powers, while continuing to stockpile, fear that China may do the same; even though all world leaders now admit that we have reached a stalemate where nations with nuclear weapons dare not use them.

Professor M. G. Salvador, in the Columbia Engineering Quarterly, 3/65, describes the destructive power in the U.S. arsenal alone:

“... If we had begun dropping an Hiroshima bomb the day Christ was born, and had continued dropping a bomb a day . . . from the year zero up to the present, we in the United States would still have a lot of megatons left over (and) each one of these bombs can kill 100,000 people . . .”

Yet the war in Vietnam continues to escalate while the world watches with mounting apprehension. David Lawrence in April presented one point of view:

“The U.S. not only must win the Vietnam war, but it must show the Red Chinese that it will not be intimidated . . . if they openly participate, the U.S. must not



The thermometer read 95° when delegates from organizations in three counties packed the Center's conference room to discuss the Requirements of Peace in an Age of Change.

hesitate to encourage the Nationalist Chinese on Formosa to begin their invasion of the mainland. If air raids are engaged in by the Red Chinese against any American troops or installations, the way will be open to bomb the nuclear facilities of the Red Chinese and destroy them once and for all.”

An opposing viewpoint was stated by Walter Lippmann in July:

“... We are about to pit Americans against Asians on the continent of Asia . . . we have only token or verbal support from any Asian country. No great Asian power is aligned with us. None of our European allies is contributing anything beyond scattered verbal support. We have no mandate from the United Nations as we had in Korea, none from NATO, none from the nations of this hemisphere.

“The situation in which we find ourselves is unprecedented . . . the conception of ourselves as the solitary policeman of mankind is a dangerous form of self-delusion. The U.S. is quite unable to police the world, and it is dangerous to profess and pretend that we can . . . The phenomenon of revolutionary wars, which is latent in all of the under-developed regions of the world, cannot be dealt with by American military intervention whenever discord threatens . . . On the contrary,

it is more likely that in making Vietnam the test of our ability to protect Asia, we shall in fact provide China with just the enemy it needs in order to focus popular hatred against us—a white, rich, capitalistic great power . . . We are allowing ourselves to be cast in the role of the enemy of the miserable masses of the emerging nations . . ."



The world picture looked pretty grim at this point . . .

The debate over our new role in world crises also involves "news management," freedom of information, and the relative powers of the Executive and the Congress. Senator Fulbright, in criticizing our action in the Dominican Republic, "knowingly staked out a lonely position," said *Newsweek*.

"In the wake of the Fulbright speech the House proceeded to adopt a resolution endorsing the unilateral use of force by the United States or by any other Western Hemisphere country to prevent a Communist take-over anywhere in the hemisphere. The resolution was approved by a vote of 312 to 52 . . . Many members, though made uneasy, said that they couldn't oppose a resolution that seemed to be intended to serve as an *ex post facto* endorsement of the President's Dominican policy. Some of these same members also criticized the State Department for 'lack of backbone' in not taking a stand against the resolution . . . Rep. John Brademas said that he had gone all the way up to Secretary Dean Rusk and had been unable to get anyone to say whether the department was for or against the resolution."

—*The Nation*, 10/4/65

The cost of the new policies was recorded by the *National Observer*, 8/16/65:

"On July 11, the Chief Executive signed into law authority to spend over \$15 billion for new aircraft, ships, missiles, and weapons research and development in the fiscal year begun July 1. Within seven days in May, Mr. Johnson asked and got a vote of confidence in his conduct of the Vietnam fighting along with authority to

spend an extra \$700,000,000 to press the conflict.

"He is currently asking an additional \$1.7 billion, and further supplemental requests are expected. Congress seems quite willing to go along with almost any Pentagon request. In all, Mr. Johnson has asked and Capitol Hill is moving rapidly to approve a total of over \$47 billion in defense spending in the fiscal year . . . That even this may be exceeded is highly probable . . ."

Not merely Asian but European problems persist. With 14 countries on the verge of nuclear capability, a treaty to end proliferation is stalled for lack of agreement on central Europe: the Soviets insist that West Germany should not be given nuclear weapons; the U.S. is committed to West Germany's defense.

"Actually the Soviet Union is not likely to give nuclear arms to other countries, treaty or no treaty . . . the question of non-proliferation is primarily a free world problem at the moment . . . What's needed is collective strategy by the nuclear powers . . . to alleviate the fears that lead new nations to seek nuclear weapons."

—*Business Week*, 10/23/65

On the other hand, even if the present nuclear powers could reach agreement on a treaty, others would not necessarily be deterred from making nuclear weapons to break the "monopoly." And even if all signed such a treaty, other weapons are available if mutual distrust persists. The fourteenth annual Pugwash Conference of scientists from many nations:

" . . . reiterated its concern about the danger to mankind from the further development and use of biological and chemical weapons . . . it does not appear possible to maintain any lasting distinction between incapacitating and lethal weapons . . . If the restraints on the practice of any kind of biological or chemical weapons are broken down, the entire spectrum of these weapons may come into use . . . devastating biological weapons may be far cheaper and easier to produce than nuclear weapons, thus placing great destructive capacity in the hands of



. . . but there were happier moments.

many nations . . . a number of states are known to be working in this field . . ."

Fortunately for mankind, awareness of these realities is spreading rapidly. Dr. Thomas Lough of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency recently stated that some kind of international regulation will become absolutely essential within this generation. The nation's first symposium on arms control, bringing together civilian and military experts, was held this year. A conference on World Peace through Law brought 3,000 Supreme Court Justices and international law experts to Washington. And the Center's Pacem in Terris Convocation convened an impressive roster of world leaders to consider the requirements of peace. Pope Paul came to the United Nations to ask again for No More War; and religious leaders of every denomination are convening local conferences.

Actually there is more international cooperation than most of us are aware of—in aviation, communications, agriculture, meteorology and other areas covered by United Nations agencies. The U.S. belongs to 80 international organizations, supports 6,000 international conferences and keeps 1,430 treaties and agreements. In this year:

- ... the U.S.S.R. voted with the U.S. in the India-Pakistan crisis;
- ... U.S.-Soviet trade increased;
- ... a U.S.-Soviet pact to establish consular offices in each other's principal cities is still under discussion;
- ... a new agreement was signed under which the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will jointly publish information on the effects of space flight; etc.

Recognition of the need for co-existence appears to be growing in the Soviet Union. William Benton, U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO, says that three themes prevail in his many conversations with all sorts of Soviet citizens: "1) improving the Soviet standard of living; 2) achieving peaceful coexistence with the West; and 3) resolving differences within the Communist party of the Soviet Union and with China and other Communist countries."

Technology has demonstrated once more how small is our globe and how easily we can destroy it. Incredible as it would have seemed a few years ago, men this year have walked and worked in space. Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are planning manned orbiting laboratories; but no agreement has yet been reached on whether we will merely extend the Cold War into colder space. General Bernard A. Schriever, director of the Systems Command, says:

"Our military responsibility in space is to respond to the threat—both stated and implied—which is posed by Soviet space technology and Soviet political ambitions. For years our military forces have had precisely the same responsibility to respond to anticipated threats on land, at sea, and in the air. The advance of technology simply extends our task further, above the earth's surface and into space."

It is obvious that the debate over military vs. political solutions to conflict is taking place in every nation. Our possibilities for communicating our hopes and fears in 1965 were dramatically illustrated by the Telstar broadcasts, and by TV's Town Meeting of the World, in which students in London, Paris, Mexico City and Belgrade questioned spokesmen for U.S. policy. The gulf between was never more apparent.

SIGNS OF CHANGE

IN HUMAN RIGHTS

THE RIGHT TO FOOD AND SHELTER

According to a rough estimate by the UN, one half of one percent of the total income of industrial countries is used to aid backward economies. It has been said that America, with 6% of the world's population and 7% of its land, has 50% of the world's wealth; yet our foreign aid, apart from military aid, is minuscule.

"... The cost of moon explorations in this decade is estimated at over \$35 billion . . . The total appropriations to alleviate world starvation and misery are still only the smallest fraction of the sums used for atomic and rocket research, yet the main battlefields in the cold war are increasingly among the starving peoples . . .

"As Georg Borgstrom has written in his new book on The Hungry Planet, 'The victory in the fight for world supremacy may not go to the one who has accomplished the most spectacular celestial fireworks, but rather to the party which does something to alleviate the distress among peoples of this earth.'

"This is at least worth considering when the budget-makers allocate \$4 billion to American farmers for limiting their production of food."

—James Reston, 10/13/65

Despite poverty pockets, most Americans know little of poverty:

" . . . The problems which plague the peoples of many other nations of the world are ones which barely show up in the latest catalogue of America's chief worries . . . Directors of Gallup Pollsters' affiliates around the world reported that in the U.S., only 5% of all interviewed cite economic problems; in many other nations, they top the list . . ."

—Gallup 4/16/65

But again, awareness is growing; electronic communication is bringing the poor of the world into our living rooms where they can no longer be ignored. Solutions begin to appear; for example, British economist Barbara Ward has suggested a world income tax, arguing that the progressive income tax probably did more than anything else to defeat despair and extremism at home; why not try it abroad?

CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE US

On the books, 1965 has been an incredibly productive year for social legislation, affecting all Americans: the year of Medicare, federal aid to education, aid to depressed areas, a new Department of Housing and Urban Development, city beautification, pollution cleanup, reforms in immigration . . . Most important to the civil rights movement, Congress outlawed literacy tests and provided for federal registration of Negroes in several states . . . nearly doubled funds for the War on Poverty, vocational rehabilitation and job training . . . Now the problem is to implement these laws, city by city, where local politics and prejudices intervene:

" . . . Mississippi today seems less a battleground between

good and evil, and more a labyrinth where none of the possible paths is a sure way out. It has become fashionable and squabbled-over, almost like Africa in the 19th century. Politicking has nearly outmoded heroism, and the symbol of the Philadelphia martyrs has given way to a huge, curling question mark. A host of new forces is now operating in the state, with LBJ humming We Shall Overcome in the background . . ."

—Elizabeth Sutherland in *The Nation*, 10/11/65

But local attitudes have undergone a profound change:

" . . . We are witnessing in Dixie this autumn, for the first time in 300 years, a certain sense of acceptance that holds prodigious meaning for white and Negro alike . . . a mist rises, and the Negro is seen differently now . . . This fall, most of the South has hung up the shield that said 'Never' . . .

"The portents of this critical hour can be seen most clearly in the country schools, where desegregation enters as quietly as a cloud that casts its shadow on a cotton patch . . . Equally significant omens may be seen in Southern cities, in the indifference that now accompanies desegregated restaurants, movies, hotels, chambers of commerce, professional societies . . . a point has been reached between flow and ebb. The segregationist politician is done for, and appeals to race—and nothing more—no longer find receptive ears . . . (but further) the Northern politician who appeals in the name of 'civil rights' and nothing else is as dead in most districts as the old-line segregationist down South."

—James J. Kilpatrick, conservative columnist, 9/3/65

Even more important perhaps is the new effort of indigenous southern Negro leadership to end economic dependence, and a new awareness of political power:

" . . . During the Summer Project of 1964 the 800 white Northern volunteers tended, quite naturally, to dominate and direct activities. Too much so, SNCC and CORE felt, which is the major reason a similar program was not planned for 1965.

"This summer, the project was run not by COFO (which was disbanded in July) but by the Freedom Democratic Party . . . For the first time since Reconstruction, more than a handful of Mississippi Negroes are involved in political activity.

"In the new area of economic activity, there has been more direction by Mississippi Negroes and participation by the masses . . . (This includes) self-help cooperatives of okra growers, farmers' cooperatives for buying fertilizer, and groups doing quilting, leather-work, woodwork and sewing. The newly formed Poor People's Corporation plans to help find aid for these cooperatives and find markets for their products . . . there were no unions and no cooperatives last summer . . ."

—David Riley in *the Southern Patriot*, 10/65

In some ways the war has moved out of the Deep South, to other parts of the nation. It was the year of the Los Angeles Watts riot, the Chicago school boycott and many another northern protest. The dimensions of the problems are outlined by a few statistics:

"When Kennedy was elected in 1960, 1 of 10 Americans was nonwhite. Today 1 of 9 is nonwhite. Today, 1 of 7 American children under 14 is nonwhite; of infants under a year, 1 in 6 is nonwhite."

—Theodore H. White, in *The Making of the President 1964*

"Less than 4% of the white working force was out of a job. But for adult nonwhites the unemployment rate actually increased . . . the gap is widening between Negro education and training on the one hand, and the requirements of the labor market on the other.

"Three Negro men in five are unskilled or semiskilled. And more than half the Negro men over 25 have less than a grammar school education. In northern industrial centers one out of every three Negro workers has suffered unemployment in the past few years. In some neighborhoods the unemployment rate among Negroes is as high as 40%."

—Vice President Humphrey to the White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity

OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS:

We must note in passing the changes in certain other rights that bear upon the quality of human-ness for which this program seeks:

. . . *the Right to Free Speech*, insisted upon primarily by college students this year, provoked meaningful debate on whether there are limits to this right, and if so, what they are . . . always coming closer to the basic question, Who Decides? For example, may the citizen of a democracy protest its foreign policy? Should there be limits to such protest? Or, what is the function of a regent of a university? Should he be chosen for his wisdom or his economic status? Who should choose him—the faculty, the students, the public? How much control does public education involve; and is it really public, or corporation, control?—An interesting result is the new system whereby students at Yale will have an official voice in the appointment of faculty members to tenure positions; also the "grading of professors" at the University of Washington and several other institutions.

. . . *the Right to be born loved and wanted*: birth control has become a "fit subject" for conversation, TV and magazines . . . in short, we are recognizing the right to discuss our common human problems as rational beings . . .

. . . *the Right of a woman to control her own reproductive function* is at least being debated . . . and may in the long run cause more change in the social fabric than many other developments of this year . . .

. . . *the Right of the criminal and of his victim*: Britain, where victims are compensated, ended capital punishment this year, and the whole subject of law-breakers (conscientious or otherwise) was subjected to intensive review . . .

. . . *the Right to freedom of belief or non-belief* was affirmed in a wide range of statements, from the Vatican's to the court decision that conscience does not necessarily involve belief in a supreme being.

Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, incidentally, fears that the right to equal pay for equal work—sex discrimination on the job—may be laughed off as an unreal problem of "hiring female stevedores for dock work" whereas a very real problem confronts the millions of women whose pay is usually far less than that of men doing similar jobs.

WHERE ARE THE LEADERS ?

Where are the far-sighted leaders who are searching for new ways of coping with these drastically new situations?

They exist, luckily for the country and the world; they exist in every academic and professional field, among workers and unemployed; in business, in government, in churches, trade unions and student groups.

They are the people who are forming, and joining, **FORCES OF CHANGE DISCUSSION GROUPS**.

The goal of this program is to carry on a true national debate between isolated elements of our society, on man's survival in the face of new weapons, new technology and old prejudices. The program offers literature from the Center and from many other sources, for a series of seminars on War and Peace, Race and Rights, Men and Machines, and their inter-relationships. The literature presents widely varying viewpoints, and group leaders are urged to invite persons of differing backgrounds and thought patterns.

Paradoxically, the age of Telstar has made it increasingly difficult for people to communicate, as persons. We all tend to remain within the comfortable confines of our chosen groups; we are all still addicted to the habit of automatically rejecting opinions different from our own.

The Forces of Change program planners believe that it is essential that we listen to one another, without epithets and pre-judgments; that we examine our own cherished concepts as well as others.

We believe that *what* is being said is more important than *who* is saying it; the "title" has come to have disproportionate influence in our democracy. Therefore both CHANGE and the discussion literature carry the views of "unknowns" who in our judgment are saying something important, as well as the views of experts.

For the same reason we urge FOC groups to rotate leadership; sometimes the very best leadership sits quietly in a corner unless it is called forth. The leaders of the new age are just beginning to emerge; perhaps you are one.

For too long the citizen has been buffeted by conflicting claims, overwhelmed by the complexity of the times, reduced to silence by feelings of inadequacy. Now he is beginning to realize that in the most final sense, it is up to him—to all of us—to decide in this decade whether man will endure.

We urge you to lend your thinking to the effort.

REPORT ON THE PROGRAM

This fall, some 1000 groups in 44 states and most of the Canadian provinces are following the Forces of Change Discussion program. Groups average 10 to 20 members. The range of participation is wide, from sophisticated computer scientists to high school students. Many respond to the invitation to communicate ideas through CHANGE. More

than one hundred proposals were submitted for the White House Conference on International Cooperation, for example.

Several national organizations and publications have mailed copies of CHANGE with a covering letter urging participation by their branches or subscribers. Others have carried articles in organization papers. These include The World Law Fund, The National Council of Catholic Men, The American Jewish Committee, The American Friends Service Committee, William Winter Comments, Turn Toward Peace, The Anti Defamation League, The Churchman, The Quotarian, Four Lights, Manas, Intercom, CSLEA Newsletter, The Beacon, etc.

Among the national groups ordering the literature are: The Rand Corporation, The National Institute of Public Affairs, The Lutheran Commission on Evangelism, The League of Women Voters, The United Nations Association of Canada, The National Extension Association, The National Student Association, YWCA National Board, United World Federalists, Rotary International, Unitarian Women's Federation, United Church Women, National Farmers Union, National Conference on Social Welfare, United Automobile Workers, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Experiment in International Living, National Catholic Welfare Conference, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, U.S. Department of Agriculture, American Broadcasting Company, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Episcopal Executive Council, National Council of Catholic Women, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of YMCAs, Twentieth Century Fund, Church of the Latter Day Saints, etc.

Overseas participants are now found in Japan, Tunisia, Zambia, Cameroun, England, Norway, Turkey, Nepal, Puerto Rico, Malaysia and New Zealand (National Council of Adult Education).

Educational institutions are using the materials for student credit courses, adult education, faculty and community groups. The varied uses of the packets are best illustrated by a few quotations from correspondence:

“... a special leadership group is using the packets for eight meetings, with six hours of discussion at each session ...”

—United Church Board for Homeland Ministries

“... our Methodist Conference Board of Social Concerns recommended to all the 450 Methodist Churches in Northern California that the program be used ...”

—Minister, Almaden Hills Methodist Church

“... for our faculty seminar ...”

—Catholic College, Brooklyn

“... for a summer college age group ...”

—Menasha, Wisconsin

“... for our new coffee house ...”

—Tucson, Arizona

“... for a group of influential labor leaders ...”

—Western Reserve University

COMMENTS ON THE PROGRAM

“We have been greatly impressed by the quality of the material from CHANGE. Our General Secretary, Dr. William A. Morrison, personally requested that information concerning CHANGE be disseminated widely throughout our denomination.”

—Dean H. Lewis, for the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

“The material is significant, interestingly prepared, and relevant to several study-discussion courses and special seminars for professional groups conducted by this Center.”

—Dean C. F. Hager, Director, Center for Continuing Liberal Education, Pennsylvania State University.



“Its contents are certainly stimulating in this case-hardened, workday atmosphere in which we are currently bound ...”

—Weathers Y. Sykes, Supreme Life Insurance Company of America.



“Enclosed is the literature fee; it is a small amount for the wealth of stimulation your issues have provided ...”

—Mrs. Sidney Rosenthal, Bluefield, West Virginia.



“We are pleased to see that you have initiated this discussion program. In the critical months and years ahead it may play an important role in our very survival as a civilization.”

—Unitarian Fellowship, Toronto, Canada.



“CHANGE is a provocative, informative document. It provides for one in a position which demands voluminous reading a refreshingly brief condensation of materials which I often cannot review at length ...”

—Charles P. Devereaux, Community Organization Specialist, Dept. of Mental Hygiene, State of California.



“... a challenging new approach to the examination of crucial issues ... we found an exceptionally high level of interest among participants in several groups with an unusually creative exchange of views. Trends and developments examined ... will only become apparent to the public at large in the next five to ten years ...”

George H. Daigneault, Director
University of California Extension,
Santa Barbara



(We wish to thank all the participants everywhere who have so generously praised this effort; your comments give us heart. We also thank the occasional critic who helps us maintain perspective.—Ed.)

HOW TO JOIN THE PROGRAM

Send this coupon for the material which fits your needs. Start the series of seminars in your local church, union, business or professional group, or

gather your friends to meet, discuss the issues, contribute their ideas. Your group determines the frequency of meetings and the time spent on each topic.

LEADERS' RESOURCE MATERIALS \$10

Includes paper-back books as well as pamphlets, reprints, speeches, questions and bibliography; offer includes all issues of CHANGE for 1966.

FIRST SERIES OF SEMINAR MATERIALS \$5

A smaller selection of introductory materials, including pamphlets, reprints, questions and bibliography; offer includes all issues of CHANGE for 1966.

NEW SECOND SERIES OF SEMINAR MATERIALS \$5

IF YOUR GROUP HAS COMPLETED THE FIRST SERIES OF SEMINARS ABOVE, members will want this second collection, which carries forward ideas introduced in the first series. Included are contributions from participants in the CHANGE program, as well as conflicting views of established authorities on cybernation, human rights and the nuclear age. *Includes all issues of CHANGE for 1966.*

(Leaders use resource materials, above, with the new \$5 packet.)

CHANGE without the literature \$3

In 1965 we did not charge for CHANGE but accepted contributions. Those who contributed late in the year will continue receiving copies for several months.

The demand for CHANGE, however, is such that we are compelled to charge for the 1966 issues. But if you are a student, retired, unemployed or just "broke," let

us know; we don't want the charge to keep anyone out of the program.

We urge that every member of a discussion group subscribe to CHANGE so that all may be discussing timely topics within the same framework. *If you buy the packets, above, your subscription is included.*

If you cannot join a group, you may still participate as an individual, through CHANGE.

Please order well in advance of your need; allow 30 days for delivery. If ordered for shipment outside the United States, please remit in U.S. dollars or equiva-

lent amount, adding \$2 for postage and handling on the \$10 selection, \$1 on the \$5 selection. Thank you! Make checks payable to Forces of Change Discussion Program.

—If you are not returning the evaluation form on page 7, please clip the address label from page 8 and attach with this coupon. THIS IS IMPORTANT.

**Forces of Change Discussion Program
Box 4427
Santa Barbara, California 93103**

I enclose \$10 For Leaders' Resource Materials

- \$ 5 For First Series Seminar Materials
- \$ 5 For New Second Series Seminar Materials
- \$ 3 For CHANGE only
(No Literature)

Name _____

Address _____

City, State _____ Zip _____



Two unusual tape recordings, *A Harvest of Thorns* and *The War Machine*, are now available. They utilize actors, music and sound to dramatize historical incidents. *A Harvest of Thorns* views the many faces of war from Euripides and Horace to the satire of Mark Twain. *The War Machine* traces the wish for an absolute weapon from the King Arthur and Roland legends to Herman Kahn. The two programs, each 28 minutes, are available at cost—both for \$7.50. They are recorded at 3½ inches per second on two sides of a single tape on a 7-inch reel (standard for most home recorders). Order from **FORCES OF CHANGE**, Box 4427, Santa Barbara, California. A free copy of the script for *A Harvest of Thorns* will be sent on request.



Many persons are discovering that **CHANGE** subscriptions or the seminar literature packets make excellent gifts for any occasion.



If you would like your organization to know about the program, we will make copies of **CHANGE** available for distribution at minimal cost.



The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions is a non-profit educational enterprise established to promote the principles of individual liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Its studies are chiefly directed at discovering whether and how a free and just society may be maintained under the strikingly new political, social, economic and technological conditions of the second half of the twentieth century.

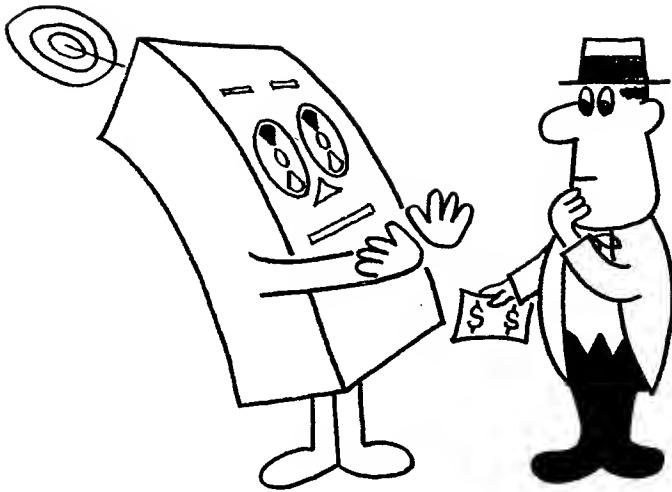
Contributors to publications issued under the auspices of the Center are responsible for their statements of fact and expressions of opinions. The Center is responsible only for determining that the material should be presented to the public as a contribution to the discussion of the Free Society.

The Forces of Change Discussion Program's literature fee and your contribution to **CHANGE** is distinct from your membership in the Center itself, as would be your purchase of books or pamphlets for use in any university course or discussion group.

THOUGHTS

"How can man get along without his wars and his weapons? It is the supreme question of the contemporary predicament. Have we within our human resource the capacity to discover new dreams, new dynamisms? Or are we so burdened by our illusions of central position, our romantic fallacies, and our pathetic rationalizations of the human condition that we can acknowledge no destiny beneath the human star but to go blindly blundering into a jingo jungle towards an indeterminate, inglorious, inexorable end? . . .

—Robert Ardrey, in *African Genesis*



WHO NEEDS MONEY?

IBM's Board Chairman, Thomas J. Watson, Jr., tells of the time soon to come when . . . "electronic transactions will virtually eliminate the need for cash . . . Giant computers in banks will contain individual customer accounts. To draw down or add to his balance, the customer in a store, office or filling station will insert an identification into the terminal, then punch out the transaction figures on the keyboard. Instantaneously, the amount will move out of his account and enter another . . . Billions upon billions of dollars changing hands without the use of one pen, one piece of paper, one check or one green dollar bill . . ."

With money so obsolete, we hate to mention the old-fashioned stuff; but we do need it. If you've got it, send it, while it still has meaning. We're a small, unautomated, all-too-human office; but we do want to give better service to your requests. Just write us a good old-fashioned check or send some of those green bills, along with your subscription.



NOTICES

Station WAMU-FM in Washington, D.C., is carrying live broadcasts in prime time for 13 weeks, of a Forces of Change group composed of widely varied community leadership. We are considering the possibility of making tapes of these broadcasts available; would your local station be interested?

SIGNS OF CHANGE

IN CYBERNATION

In March, Thomas J. Watson, Jr., the Chairman of the Board of IBM "recalled the coming of age of the data processing industry:

"... from 200,000 employees in 1947 to a million today. In the next five years, that figure will probably grow to 2 million.

"from a few dozen computers installed in the early 1950s to more than 20,000 in America today . . .

"We face a clear imperative: we must forge a dynamic, successful and continuing alliance with the machine or see our economy slowed and our expectations thwarted. But in forging this alliance and making it flourish, we confront much uneasiness and fear . . .

"For four straight years, our economic prosperity has without interruption continued to grow. And for seven straight years, our rate of unemployment has almost without interruption failed to decline. Ever since 1957, that rate has hardly ever dipped below 5 percent. As many as 800,000 young Americans may be out of school and out of work today. If present trends continue, by 1970 they may number 1.5 million. To these teen-agers, as to the grown man with a hungry family in a shack in Kentucky, our new age means just one thing: the prospect of apathy and despair in the midst of unprecedented national affluence . . ."

By November, the Labor Department stated that the unemployment rate had dipped to 4.3%. Some experts question this estimate, however, saying that it does not include those who are employed only part-time, those who have given up looking for work, or those who will not be replaced when they retire. Hundreds of conferences around the country discussed the assertions of the "Triple Revolution": that the age of abundance has broken the link between jobs and income, and that a guaranteed annual income should replace the patchwork of present welfare and unemployment programs.

In June, Robert W. Sarnoff, Chairman of the Board of the National Broadcasting Company, talked of the present and future:

"... In business and industry, computer systems will permit centralized control over vast enterprises. The computers will assimilate information on market trends, production schedules, availability of raw materials and means of distribution and other relevant data, and present it to management with alternatives for a decision. The decision made, it will be transmitted by computer to automated production facilities and fully implemented. Or, the business executive will be able to command his operation through participation in essential discussions on a closed circuit television system, while computers

provide necessary information on the screen or provide it in print through desk instruments.

"Researchers and scholars will call upon knowledge centers—computer systems that with the push of a button in the laboratory or library will allow them to tap all the accumulated knowledge in their fields of interest.

"In all of their applications, computers will be linked on a global basis by satellites, cables, microwave systems,

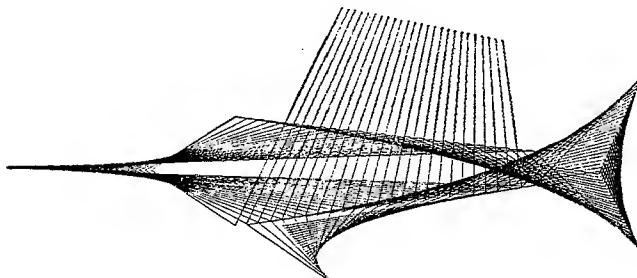
COMPUTER POETRY

In 1963, George Dixon's column reported that computers programmed with a basic vocabulary of 100 words wrote the following poems. Today, with a larger vocabulary, they may be feeling more cheerful:

"While life reached evilly through empty faces
While space flowed slowly o'er idle bodies
And stars flowed evilly upon vast men
No passion smiled."

"While dream flowed blindly on broken hopes
Still space drained sickly o'er broken loves
Your light driven slowly from furtive men
No heavens slept."

COMPUTER ART



Two young scientists who call themselves collectively Sol Cenowski programmed this drawing of a jet plane. It takes three or four days to program such a drawing, and it takes the computer 30 minutes to produce it. (Santa Barbara News-Press 10/31/65)

as well as standard telephone and telegraph connections, so that knowledge developed in one place can be made available immediately in any spot on the globe. They will respond to push-button operation, handwriting, images or voice. Ultimately, huge quantities of information may be transmitted regionally or globally by laser, a single beam of intense light inherently capable of delivering all the information transmitted by all the television stations, radio stations, teletypewriters and telephones in the world, operating at the same time.

"At present, there are computer centers in operation, whose services are supplied to subscribers in much the same fashion as lawyers and accountants supply legal and financial capability. The next step will be a nationwide network of such centers, accumulating and storing in-

formation to become readily available for a wide range of different requirements. This information can encompass varied data, from all social security records to insurance records, income tax records, patent records, the immediate status of all freight cars on all railways, the record of all jet planes and seats available on them at any given time. The stored information could also include programs for the specific use of these records in innumerable ways. Such a system could serve all these diverse uses, no one of which might justify a national computer network for itself . . .”

The Research Institute of America, in its report for 1964, stated:

“. . . It's time to go beyond the debate over whether automation is 'good' or 'bad,' whether it 'creates jobs' or 'eliminates jobs.' It does both. The real questions are: 'Under what circumstances? For whom?'

“. . . the giant companies . . . know what to do with automation. They've used the genie to reduce costs, absorb higher wage bills, open up new markets, expand old ones through competitive prices . . . Between 1956 and 1963, the 500 top U.S. industrial companies—the heaviest automators—boosted sales by 33% or \$60 billion. In this same interval, manufacturing jobs nationwide dropped 1%, but these giants raised their own job totals by a dramatic 11% . . . Today they're employing a bigger share of the work force than ever before . . . (but) it has taken over \$70,000 in investment to support each new job (Meanwhile:)

“. . . Small firms' sales grew only one-third as fast as giants'.
“. . . Small firms' investment grew only 41% as fast as giants'.
“. . . Small firms' cash flow increased by only 4%, to \$4 billion . . . the giants boosted their cash flow by 56%, to a whopping \$20 billion.
“. . . Small firms' profits actually declined 16% (after taxes) while the giant companies succeeded in lifting their profits 47%.

“Society may well have to change its thinking about 'bigness,' drop its hostility if it wants to generate enough new jobs . . .”



Man—what is he good for?

This year as never before, we have been forced to ask ourselves, Does what I am doing really matter? Is it good for man, or bad? and if I am part of man, is it good for me and for those that my life affects? Then we are forced to define "good" . . . in terms of religion, philosophy, or self-interest . . .

Fortunately for all of us, the computer scientists are asking themselves the same questions; and they are not alone. The businessman, the advertiser, the TV producer, the social worker, the government worker is beginning to see himself in the planetary glow.

For the first time, too, we are really seeing each other: the poor and the affluent, the old and the young, business and labor, religionists and humanists, black and white, communist and capitalist: we are all hostages to fate on this tiny globe, threatened not by nature but by our curiously and ability to manipulate nature and each other.

Will we survive? Who knows? and the cosmos may not care; but we are beginning to care. If we permit the species to survive, this may well be known to history as the year of the Great Awakening.

COPING WITH CHANGE

“Planning is old to American polemics but virtually unknown to its politics and its jurisprudence. When we think about planning, illustrations from economics come most naturally to mind. Economic planning means saying what economic goals the culture ought to realize, and what activities must be performed in order to realize them. The same questions apply to all forms of cultural planning—town and country planning, demographic planning, eugenic and ecological planning, and planning future scientific and technological innovations . . . the fathers of planning, Plato and Bacon, thought of it chiefly in association with education, science, and social institutions.

“So conceived, a social plan must assume a status somewhat more detailed than an ideology but short of a legislative program. This means that planning requires the participation of scientists and experts, but even more, it requires profoundly popular processes. The legitimacy necessary to a plan cannot exist unless it has both scientific and popular sanctions. The only presently existing institutions capable of combining anything approaching these two characteristics are the political parties, even though party systems, especially in the industrialized Western countries, admittedly fall short of the two qualities today. Socialist regimes claim to incorporate both scientific and popular validity in their planning processes. By Western standards they are still deficient on both scores. Russia, though far in advance of the others, has yet to relinquish the technical part of the planning process to scientists and intellectuals. She is even more chary of entrusting the political fate of her plans to competitive popular parties . . . It is the Western nations that present hopeful possibilities . . .”

“The function of popular elections is to provide the personnel and the goals for government. Only the top officials and only the broad outlines of policy come under electoral control, but both must have their origin in the informed deliberative processes of the people if democracy is to be realized . . . A democratic society must assume responsibility for providing the proper educational basis and the requisite political institutions to enable the people to exercise the office of citizenship effectively.

“. . . the disparagement of democracy, so prevalent throughout the world today, is little more than disenchantment with the specific forms of participational democracy that were devised to fit the nineteenth century negative state. It would be surprising indeed if the same devices that served Americans in the time of Herbert Spencer would serve as well in that of David Riesman. It would be an unmitigated tragedy should twentieth century Americans dishonor their populist predecessors by a less courageous effort to adopt the democratic ideal to the needs of their own times . . .”

“Inasmuch as the citizen is the basis on which everything must rest, it is the changed role of the citizen and the changed requirements of the office—the profession—of citizenship with which reform must start . . .”

—Excerpt from *The Restoration of Politics*, by Harvey Wheeler

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